Message Text

SECRET

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

-----069619 091529Z /45

OR 091417Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1378

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 KUWAIT 3937

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, PINT, LE, IS, SY, KU

SUBJECT: LEBANON: CONTINUING EFFORTS TO DEFUSE THE CRISIS

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REF: (A) STATE 171142 (NOTAL), (B) STATE 172481, (C) KUWAIT 3862

1. KHALED BABTAIN, CHIEF OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS AT MFA, AND IBRAHIM AL-MOOSA, ACTING CHIEF OF ARAB AFFAIRS SECTION, RECEIVED ME TOGETHER JULY 9 FOR DISCUSSION OF LEBANON. FOREIGN MINISTER SHEIKH SABAH AL-AHMAD HAD

LEFT FOR DAMASCUS AND BEIRUT JULY 8, WITH GOK
AMBASSADOR TO LEBANON ABDUL HAMID AL-BU'AYJAN, WITH
MESSAGES FROM AMIR FOR PRES. ASAD AND PRES. SARKIS.
MFA OFFICERS WERE NOT AWARE OF SPECIFIC CONTENTS OF
AMIR'S MESSAGES, BUT WERE CERTAIN THAT PRIMARY OBJECTIVE
OF FOREIGN MINISTER'S TRIP WAS TO PERSUADE SARKIS NOT
TO RESIGN

- 2. IN MY PRESENTATION BASED ON REFTELS I EMPHASIZED THE CONTINUING US COMMITMENT TO LEBANON'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND USG SUPPORT FOR PRES. SARKIS AS PERHAPS IRREPLACEABLE, CRUCIAL ELEMENT IN WORKING OUT IMMEDIATE ARRANGEMENTS TO DEFUSE THE SITUATION AND ACHIEVE LONGER TERM STABILITY.
- 3. IT WAS APPARENT FROM QUESTIONS AL-MOOSA ASKED THAT THERE HAS BEEN AT LEAST SOME SUSPICION IN MFA MINDS THAT USG VIEWS CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS IN LEBANON WITH SPECIAL FAVOR. I SAID THAT WE DO NOT SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANY SEPARATE CHRISTIAN STATE AND DO NOT SUPPORT RECENT CHRISTIAN CALLS FOR THE ARAB DETERRENT FORCE TO WITHDRAW FROM LEBANON. I SAID THAT WE WERE POINTING OUT TO CHRISTIANS AND ISRAELIS THE GRAVE DANGERS OF A PARTITIONIST COURSE AND OF PROVOCATIONS TO WHICH SYRIANS MIGHT HAVE TO REPLY. I SAID THAT WE HAD ALWAYS SUPPORTED AND APPRECIATED THE ROLE OF THE ADF IN LEBANON AND CONSIDERED ITS PRESENCE LEGITIMATE SO LONG AS THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT WISHED THE SECRET

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ADF TO STAY. I NOTED, AND MFA OFFICIALS AGREED, THAT THE SPECIFIC ORIGINS OF LAST WEEK'S INTENSE FIGHTING REMAIN OBSCURE BUT THAT THE LEVEL OF THE SYRIAN RESPONSE HAD PROBABLY BEEN EXTREME AND HAD CAUSED NEEDLESS CIVILIAN SUFFERING. NONETHELESS, I WANTED KUWATIS TO KNOW THAT USG HAD BEEN TALKING IN A VERY SATISFACTORY WAY WITH THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT FOR MANY MONTHS AND THAT THIS DIALOGUE HAD CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE PRESENT CRISIS. I SAID WE HAD BEEN GRATIFIED WHEN SYRIANS TOLD US THEIR TROOPS HAD BEEN ORDERED TO SHOW RESTRAINT.

4. HAVING ESTABLISHED THAT GOK OBJECTIVES VIS-A-VIS
LEBANON, I.E. SUPPORT FOR SARKIS, PRESERVATION OF
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY FOR
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS, MATCHED STATED OBJECTIVES
OF USG, BABTAIN GAVE OPINION THAT ALL THE PROBLEMS OF
LEBANON TODAY ARE THE RESULT OF CONTINUING, UNSETTLED
ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. IT HAD BEEN PALESTINIAN PRESSURE ON
THE FRAGILE BALANCE IN LEBANESE SOCIETY AND ON THE INHERENTLY
WEAK LEBANESE GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD PRECIPITATED LEBANESE
TRAGEDY OF THE LAST FEW YEARS. IN ABSENCE OF SOLUTION TO
PALESTINE PROBLEM, IT WAS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE REESTABLISH-

MENTOF THE OLD LEBANON. HE AND HIS COLLEAGUE COULD PROVIDE NO DIRECTIONS FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE KIND OF LEBANON WHICH EXISTED BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR, BUT THEY AGREED THAT THE ELIMINATION OF ANY MAJOR FACTION OF LEBANESE SOCIETY AS A MEANS TO STABILITY WAS UNACCEPTABLE. THEY OPINED, HOWEVER, THAT VISIBLE ISRAELI SUPPORT FOR, AND ALLIANCE WITH, LEBANESE CHRISTIANS, WHILE UNDERSTANDABLE, WOULD ALWAYS BE A SOURCE OF SERIOUS TROUBLE. BABTAIN AGREED WITH MY COMMENT, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WOULD BE NO STOPPING ISRAELI EFFORTS TO PRECLUDE LEBANON'S BECOMING A CONFRONTATION STATE, IF EVENTS SEEMED LEADING IN THAT DIRECTION.

5. I MENTIONED FACT THAT WE HAVE PRESENTED SUGGESTIONS TO SYRIANS CONCERNING MEASURES TO BE TAKEN ON THE SECRET

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GROUND TO REDUCE THE POSSIBILITY OF RENEWED SERIOUS CHRISTIAN-SYRIAN CONFLICT. I SAID THAT NEGOTIATIONA AND IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH IDEAS WOULD BE LONG AND DIFFICULT. IT WAS IMPERATIVE THAT THE PRESENT CEASE-FIRE BE CONTINUED AND THAT SARKIS' CRUCIAL ROLE AS NEGOTIATOR BE PRESERVED, TO LET THOSE NEGOTIATIONS SUCCEED. MFA OFFLKERS AGREED COMPLETELY.

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RUQMDMDVAMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 1245

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EXDIS

6. COMMENT: I THINK BABTAIN AND AL-MOOSA BELIEVE MY DESCRIPTION OF THE AMERICAN POSITION IN LEBANON AS ONE OF DEEP CONCERN AND IMPARTIALITY. IT IS APPARENT TO ME HOWEVER THAT OUR CREDIBILITY IN THIS RESPECT IS SECRET

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FRAGILE. IT IS DIFFICULT FOR KUWATIS NOT TO BELIEVE
THAT AS HAVE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE WELFARE OF THE
CHRISTIANS, WHETHER MERELY AS CORELIGIONARIES OR AS
FRIENDS OF OUR ISRAELI FRIENDS. FURTHEREMORE, MANY KUWAITIS
CANNOT SEE ANYONE BENEFITING FROM CHAOS IN LEBANON
EXCEPT THE ISRAELIS, AND THIS LENDS CREDENCE TO SUGGESTIONS
THAT USG IS NOT UNHAPPY WITH, IF NOT IN FACT SUBTLY TRYING
TO PROLONG, CONTINUING CRISIS IN LEBANON. SUTHERLAND

SECRET

NNN

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